

sent. The Times-News commented editorially as follows:

JOHN GLENN'S FAITH

Most men are usually hesitant about expressing their religious convictions in public, at least, in any great detail. If it is an honest modesty, it does not spring from any sense of shame or fear of ridicule, but from the feeling that a man's deeply held religious or philosophical beliefs are, in the last analysis, uniquely his own.

Such a man undoubtedly is John Glenn. But Astronaut Glenn, now that he has rocketed into history as one of this country's most celebrated heroes, has found he may no longer indulge this prerogative of a private citizen.

To some, statements of Glenn's personal beliefs are as important as the scientific information he brought back with him from space. Even a Senate committee showed great interest in the spiritual aspects of his adventure.

To many, the temptation would be great to "put in a good word for God," for that is what the public expects and wants. But with plain honesty, Glenn spoke on a level far above that of an athlete endorsing a particular brand of cereal or cigarettes or shaving cream.

"There have been people in the past," he said, "who have tried to put words in my mouth that at a certain time I suddenly lapsed into a prayerful state, or something like that, and this just isn't the case."

He went on to say that his religion is not a fire-engine type, used only for emergencies. He had made his peace with his Maker a long time ago and he tried to live every day as best he could. He was busy with controls and instruments while in orbit, not prayers.

Unspoken, but obvious, however, was the fact that Glenn's whole life is imbued with a prayerful attitude—a reverence—toward his country, his family, his job, and his purpose on earth.

John Glenn spoke for himself. This is all he could do or should be asked to do. But his moral example lends powerful influence to his words.

Getting acquainted with this courageous man as we have and standing shoulder-to-shoulder with him in his moment of supreme trial as the rocket ignited and soared has been a tremendous emotional and spiritual experience for all of us in this country.

Interrelationship Between our Nation's Youth and Our Nation's Woods and Streams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD V. LONG

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, March 13, 1962

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, the conservation and enhancement of our Nation's resources, both human and natural, is of significant importance to the Congress. Recently I read an article which sets forth a most striking interrelationship between our Nation's youth and our Nation's woods and streams. This article speaks of the education of youth by going with dad, an activity which I can well remember from my youth. Today's urban centralization has, to a great extent, brought this traditional activity to an end for there

is no place for a boy in a factory or in an office with his father. Therefore, the boy must look to the weekends to learn many of the lessons which only his father can pass on to him. This is one of the reasons why we must give the most careful thought to the preservation of our great woodland areas for they are classrooms where important lessons of democratic life can be learned. They are classrooms where the boy can learn many traits of manhood.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article written by Joe R. Hinds, manager, Howell-Oregon Electric Co-op and appearing in the Rural Electric Missourian be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A VISIT WITH THE MANAGER

(Joe R. Hinds)

For many years I have been telling my friends, business associates, people I meet from other States—in fact, anyone who'll listen—about the many advantages we have here in the heart of the Ozarks. One of these advantages is outstanding.

Nowhere will you find a better atmosphere for bringing up children than on an Ozark farm. Rural America, especially rural Missouri, has produced more than its share of the Nation's distinguished statesmen, teachers, scientists, and businessmen. And perhaps the biggest single advantage that the Ozark farm boy has over the city boy is this: The farm boy gets to go with dad.

Recently the editor of the Iowa Rural Electric News wrote a widely publicized story about this same subject—"Going With Dad." He pointed out that for the city boy, dad might as well be nonexistent between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. There's no room for a boy in dad's office or shop—or on a factory assembly line. While the city boy is learning to tie knots in a Boy Scout session (or tin cans on a dog's tail) the farm boy is learning about life—people—politics and practicality.

I can well remember when I got to go with dad. We covered the countryside buying cattle and we rode horseback. Dad always had some pretty fair fox-trotting horses and many is the day we spent together in the saddle. Perhaps that's why I'm still partial to fox-trotting horses. They remind me of the times I got to go with dad.

Sometimes we went to auctions, to the feed mill, to the blacksmith shop, to a neighboring farm, or just down to the barn. You listened to what people had to say—about politics, prices or livestock. You listened and you learned. And somewhere in the process of listening you received an education. The kind of education you could never get out of a textbook.

You learned respect—you learned to love the land, your country, your parents, your family and your home. You acquired a homespun philosophy that was based on the principles of the Golden Rule. Honesty and stability are trademarks of rural America. The boy who gets to go with dad doesn't end up in juvenile court. And the man who as a boy learned his politics and economics from down-to-earth "dirt" farmers has little time for communism or any other kind of anti-Americanism.

I'm glad that as a boy I got to go with dad and I'm concerned in the realization that with the decreasing farm population fewer and fewer boys will have that opportunity.

One of the reasons I'm greatly concerned with conservation and resource development is that I hope that we can provide

adequate facilities—family—where a city boy can go with dad. Resource development means more than water, electric power, flood control, navigation and timber—important as all these are to our economic future. Resource development also means that city boys, yet unborn, may have an opportunity to go with dad on a weekend trip in these beautiful Ozarks.

And who is there that can measure the value of such an experience? Who can put a price tag on clear thinking—right living—and a chance to go with dad?

Meade County Soil Conservation District Annual Report for 1961 and Work Plan for 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. FLOYD BREEDING

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 13, 1962

Mr. BREEDING. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the annual report for 1961 of the Meade County Soil Conservation District and the work plan for the year 1962. This information was sent to me by Mr. Mickey Winfrey, district clerk of the Meade County Soil Conservation District, and I think it points out to a good advantage the fine results which have been obtained through this program.

The report follows:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR MEADE COUNTY SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICT 1961

The year 1961 was blessed with above normal moisture and winter wheat protection was excellent. Dry land milo production was about as good as irrigated and for the county the yield was better than it ever has been.

A large acreage was planted for silage and the yield would average better than 10 tons per acre.

Fall weather for harvesting was good and all feed and most of the milo was well taken care of.

The summer rains came at the proper time and native grass was green all summer long so that livestock came through the summer in good shape, however, the grass did not cure in August so that the cattle did not make the gain on grass that was expected.

The Soil Conservation District held an essay contest for the seventh and eighth grades with 103 participating. A poster contest was held for the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades with 122 taking part. The entrants did an excellent job. Twelve board members which included their wives and one daughter judged the posters and essays at the Roy Seybert home. Each entrant in the poster and essay contest were presented with an automatic pencil at the annual meeting and the winners were presented silver dollars as awards.

The schools over the county were supplied with conservation cartoons and the good that can come from this is hard to estimate.

The radio and television stations cooperated well and whenever the district desired information to go out they were always willing to do the job. The local weekly papers used information when it was given to them. The daily Hutchinson paper is good at using conservation news and information.

The farmers are using stubble mulch tillage and are really operating the sweeps for moisture conservation and soil blowing has been held to a minimum.

Soil Conservation Service personnel and supervisors presented programs over television and the WUC presented programs to Arena, Lions, Kiwanis Clubs, and government classes at the high school.

The annual meeting had to be postponed because of bad weather and it will be held in February with D. F. Abbott as the featured speaker. The meeting is well planned and will be well attended as all folks in this area are using and becoming more familiar with conservation work.

Bankers' awards will be presented to four cooperators who have done excellent conservation work. Those receiving awards are Mr. and Mrs. Don Bacon, Fowler; Mr. and Mrs. Roy Marrs, Fowler; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Vann, Fowler; and Mr. and Mrs. Paul Bridges, Meade.

Howard Mendenhall was reappointed as a district supervisor and is doing an excellent job.

The board chairman attended the State meeting in Emporia and Joe Friesen and wife are planning to attend the national meeting in Philadelphia.

Norman Hatfield operated the two tandem grass drills for those wanting to hire the job done. The single drill was used by several individuals themselves and as the season was excellent the stand would be good.

Tree orders were again taken with cash deposits so that there would be definite assurance of trees being received.

Monthly meetings were held regularly except for July when all supervisors were busy harvesting. The regular supervisors and the alternates attended all meetings good and took part when asked and put on committees.

The August meeting was held in the Meade City Park with watermelons furnished to supervisors, assistant supervisors, extension folks, ASC chairman, and Soil Conservation Service folks and all of their families.

Treasurer's report for 1961

Balance brought forward on Jan. 1, 1961-----	\$5,037.66
Receipts:	
Donations-----	5.00
Grass seed-----	241.80
Trees-----	65.00
Drill rent-----	1,440.11
Total-----	1,751.91
Total-----	6,789.57
Expenditures:	
Supplies-----	524.34
Machinery repair-----	87.64
Meeting expense-----	139.42
Trees and freight-----	58.75
Education and advertising-----	234.91
Dues-----	114.86
Bonds-----	3,010.00
Miscellaneous (postage and etc.)-----	14.87
Total-----	4,184.79
Total-----	2,604.78
Petty cash adjustment-----	6.04
Balance carried forward----	2,598.74
Bank statement reconciliation:	
Bank statement Dec. 31, 1961--	2,613.34
Outstanding check-----	14.80
Balance on hand-----	2,598.74
Bills payable-----	0
Bills receivable-----	0

Treasurer's report for 1961—Continued

Bonds owned: 8 series E bonds,
\$4,000 face value----- \$3,000.00

Serial numbers on file----- 5,598.74
Petty cash (for small expenses)-- 5.00

Net worth----- 5,603.74

¹ None.

INVENTORY OF PROPERTY

Camera, \$115; calculator, \$481; sandloose grass seed, 60 pounds; graphing table; file cabinet; display cabinet; display board for literature; three grass drills; one furrow seeder; and one subsoiler.

Soil and water conservation practices applied with SCS assistance

	Unit	July 1 1960- June 30, 1961	On the land June 30, 1961
Terracing-----	Mile-----	118	1,053
Contour farming-----	Acre-----	3,120	26,325
Pond construction-----	Number-----	5	198
Land leveling-----	Acre-----	133	4,132
Deferred grazing-----	do-----	7,535	10,000
Diversions construction-----	Foot-----	7,958	85,478
Stubble mulching-----	Acre-----	2,665	6,865
Grassed waterways-----	do-----	11	568
Irrigation pipelines-----	Foot-----	5,619	67,293
Range seeding-----	Acre-----	3,709	24,297
Proper irrigation water use-----	do-----	133	2,437
Proper range use-----	do-----	7,535	10,000
Pasture furrowing-----	do-----	101	1,840

ANNUAL WORK PLAN FOR MEADE COUNTY SCS DISTRICT FOR 1962

A. Prepare annual work plan for new year of 1963.

B. Prepare and use all available publicity and advertisement outlets to encourage all soil conservation approved practices.

C. Continue to cooperate with ASC county committee in developing ACP program and ask their assistance in developing GP program.

D. Prepare extra copies of annual report to be supplied to the following:

1. State and national SCS officials.
2. State and national legislative officials.
3. Other key personnel.
4. Chairman of KASCD.

E. Chairman to appoint following committees:

1. Awards: Purchase cooperator signs for completed plans. Secure awards for essay and/or poster contest, bankers awards and district dealer program and service pins for eligible supervisors.

2. Essay and/or poster contest: To promote the essay or poster contest in all schools within the county for the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. This committee will work with the school officials.

3. Farm and City Week: This committee to promote the Farm and City Week and work with local county businessmen and civic organizations.

4. Education, publicity, and soil stewardship—

(a) Sponsor Soil Stewardship Week.

1. Contact all churches and work with them to organize Soil Stewardship Sunday programs and furnish speakers from district supervisors or other sources. These speakers to speak at morning and/or evening services thus speaking at two churches in one day.

(b) Sponsor field trips.

(c) Promote activities with FHA, 4-H, FFA, and others.

(d) Keep newspapers, radio, and TV stations informed of activities.

5. Annual meeting committee: Make arrangements for annual meeting.

(a) Speaker.

(b) Program.

(c) Building.

(d) Refreshments.

F. Secure affiliate members and endeavor to obtain alternate supervisors to attend

monthly meetings and assist regular supervisors at all times. Also encourage attendance by alternates and regular supervisors to State and National meetings.

G. Operate and maintain district-owned equipment.

1. The photo equipment to be used for publication of work done by district cooperators. The purpose of this work is to encourage others to participate in like practices. These pictures are to be published in newspapers or other places where the general public can view them.

H. Invite guests to monthly meeting to encourage and broaden the general work and interest of soil conservation.

I. Recognize outstanding cooperators through awards, news articles, or announcements at field days, etc.

J. Start preparations for a 15th anniversary progress report.

1. Committees to be appointed by the chairman for the following:

- (a) Financing.
- (b) Preparation.

Educational TV

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 7, 1962

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 132) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish a program of Federal matching grants for the construction of television facilities to be used for educational purposes.

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Chairman, there is broad agreement among all of us that we must do more to meet the educational needs of our country. Those who have made studies of our schools agree with educators that we must expand and improve our programs at a time in history when we simply cannot settle for second place.

Unfortunately, the sea of education is not a placid one, nor is it free of the rocks and shoals which threaten to bring many Government programs to an unhappy end. Unless we are ever mindful of the dangers involved, we may find to our regret that what begins as Federal aid ends as Federal control. Thus, the problem is really twofold: How to increase and improve our buildings, facilities, and teachers while retaining control at the State and local level.

One answer which meets both elements of the problem is the educational television legislation now before us. Throughout the bill we find numerous safeguards which specifically reserve to the States authority to approve applications and plans before funds are allocated. Those on the local level will be responsible for the way in which educational television programs are used, just as they are now responsible for the use made of textbooks, films, and other educational aids. Conversely, section 398 specifically forbids any Federal department or employee to exercise control over educational television broadcasting or over the curriculum, program of instruction, or personnel of any educational broadcasting station.

The potential advantages are numerous and are readily apparent to those considering the proposal. We are well aware of the rapidly increasing costs of school construction and maintenance, and of the equally rapid increase in the need for school expansion in the decades ahead. When the cost of this construction is added to the projected cost of teachers' salaries, it is evident that widespread savings could be realized by the use of educational television. In rural areas where the population is scattered, television would permit a better utilization of teachers in order to present a more diversified curriculum and equalize educational opportunities.

It behooves us to act immediately. Today only 20 percent of the channels that are reserved for educational television broadcasting have been utilized, and there is grave danger that unless considerably more stations are soon activated, the demand for commercial purposes may be impossible to turn down. Since the number of channels sets aside for educational purposes equals only about 10 percent of all stations, and since the demands made upon them will unquestionably multiply in the years ahead, they should not be lost from lack of use.

Most of the testimony before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was in favor of the bill. Very few witnesses opposed the legislation and those appearing on behalf of commercial television generally favored the educational television on the grounds that they were not able to adequately supply educational services within the framework of their own networks.

In the final analysis, however, it will be the citizens themselves, acting together at the school, district, and State levels who will determine the success of educational TV. Where civic leaders spend necessary time and energy, we can expect excellent results in the years to come. Already Alabama and Colorado can point with pride to their achievements in this area. I am convinced that with the safeguards written into this bill, we can move ahead to obtain better education, with positive assurance that the Federal Government will not prescribe teaching methods or the curriculum. I urge the bill's adoption.

Portugal Fighting Clock in Angola

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 13, 1962

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I announced Monday that I would insert in the RECORD this week a series of candid reports on the Angolan situation by Robert H. Estabrook of the Washington Post. I respectfully commend the attention of my colleagues to the first of this six-article series, entitled, "Portugal Fighting Clock in Angola."

Mr. Estabrook's series presents a balanced report on an important international situation that has too often been reported emotionally, rather than objectively. The end result has been a distorted picture of the Portuguese position. It is my hope this series will help clarify the true issues.

The article follows:

PORTUGAL FIGHTING CLOCK IN ANGOLA

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

(NOTE.—Estabrook, editor of the editorial page of the Washington Post, has just completed a trip to Lisbon and the Portuguese African provinces of Angola and Mozambique.)

LONDON.—Is there time?

Can education, economic opportunities, and a sense of participation be afforded nearly 11 million Africans in Angola and Mozambique rapidly enough for the promise of a multiracial society to flower before it is blighted by nationalism or white racism?

These are the great questions that loom after an inquiring visit to the two vast provinces of Portuguese Africa. The answer will depend, first, upon the sincerity and urgency with which Portugal seeks to carry out the ambitious programs it has announced, and, second, upon the forbearance of others.

In the face of much world criticism of past repression, real and fancied, Portugal has been struggling to halt a campaign of savage terrorism in Angola and at the same time to initiate sweeping reforms and improvements. There can be no doubt whatever of Portugal's determination to continue her association with the two overseas provinces.

"Independence," as demanded by the critics, is considered unthinkable. But the kind of self-determination envisaged by the more enlightened officials as the culmination of educational and economic gains could lead to a more or less autonomous commonwealth status in a larger Lusitanian, or Portuguese, community.

DECADE AT THE MOST

Administrators shy away from fixed dates, but many of them are aware that Portugal has a decade at the most to make her programs meaningful to the Africans and acceptable to the white residents. They hope that good faith, plus a backwash of world feeling about the effects of premature independence in the Congo, will give them the time they need.

Portuguese policy has combined substantial performance with enormous pride, stubbornness, an overdeveloped sense of history and resentment of outside criticism. Yet the goal it proclaims—a genuinely multiracial society—is the only formula that stands any conceivable chance of success in preserving these territories as places where Africans and Europeans can live amicably together.

On paper, these objectives are of the sort to which most of the world could subscribe. Africans are now automatically Portuguese citizens; they have the choice of assuming rights and obligations under public law or of continuing to observe their tribal customs.

There is no legal color bar. In theory, Africans can aspire, through education, to rise as far as their abilities will carry them. Elaborate plans are being put into effect to concentrate populations in new villages with schools and medical facilities. Many private employers have adopted advanced social welfare programs.

But there also are some severe complications:

A guerrilla war in Angola, organized from outside the country but fed originally on local grievances, that bears many resemblances to previous conflicts in Kenya and Malaya.

A past performance which in 4½ centuries did more to salve white consciences than to improve the condition of the Africans, only a few thousand of whom until now have been assimilated into "civilized" status.

Constant and strident criticism in the United Nations, some of it warranted by past abuses but some of it absurdly exaggerated—with a response from Portugal that affairs in Angola are an internal matter.

A system of government in Lisbon that is dictatorial in nature, highly centralized and extremely conservative in its financing and that denies many effective political rights to Portuguese at home as well as abroad.

A security police that is accused of brutally abducting Africans suspected of nationalist connections and holding them for long periods without trial, and that is widely feared even though there is not the pervasive dread found in Iron Curtain countries.

The presence of half a million white residents, both native and immigrant, who regard Angola and Mozambique as their homes, who are conscious of their own rights at a time of concentration upon more rights for the Africans and who in a crisis could become a colon movement similar to that in Algeria.

A contract labor system for some Africans which is by no means as bad as the "forced labor" sometimes depicted by critics but which makes Portugal an easy target.

An attitude of some officials toward the outside world that has made it difficult for Portugal to present her own case convincingly.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, change unquestionably is in the air in Portugal's overseas provinces. Whether this change is to be considered a gale or a mere zephyr depends upon your point of reference.

Some Government administrators resolutely deny that anything was wrong to begin with, and a few seem to have their minds still firmly rooted in the 15th century. But others, while insisting that complaints in the U.N. and the experience of Goa had nothing to do with the acceleration, concede that the pace must be very much faster in developing education and economic and political rights for the Africans.

Despite the existence of many common problems, the atmosphere in the two provinces is markedly different. Angola is much more on the front line of change. Mozambique is more relaxed, and accordingly there is less feeling of urgency.

Angola, a huge region on the west coast bordering the Congo, northern Rhodesia and southwest Africa, has an area almost twice that of Texas with a population of only about 5 million, less than 5 percent of it white. Portugal has effectively governed it for nearly 400 years, and in some parts of it the white settlers were there before the Africans.

Among white residents, particularly ranchers in the southern part, there is an ebullient frontier spirit reminiscent of the American Southwest. The bush still is the predominant feature but modern towns in the interior contrast with old churches and fortresses along the coast. Residents of Luanda, the capital, which has a white population of about 40,000 out of a total of some 250,000, contend that it is the most handsome city in West Africa.

Angola coffee is known all over the world, and there also is fantastic mineral wealth, particularly diamonds, in the northeast. The Benguela railway links the riches of Katanga and the Rhodesias with west coast ports. Sugar and cotton are important exports and a beef cattle industry is growing.

But over Angola, as a consequence of the terrorism and of resentment of past governmental policies, hangs a cloud of tension. Despite official completion of the military

phase of the campaign to repacify the northwest, nerves remain on edge.

Mozambique, by contrast sits languidly as an unburnished jewel on the east coast, bordered by Tanganyika, the Rhodesias and South Africa. It also has an area larger than that of Texas with a population of some-thing over 6 million, some 300,000 of it white.

Until recent years, Mozambique was largely administered by the Companhia de Mozambique, a private concession exploiting agriculture. Its principal products have been cotton, palm oil, and similar commodities. The interior mountains are known to contain mineral wealth, but it is not yet developed.

Lourenco Marques, the capital, named after an early trader, is a remarkably lovely city of 200,000 that is both an important port and a popular vacation resort for South Africans and Rhodesians. Beira, farther north along the coast, also is a busy port with rail connections to Rhodesia.

Friction has not come to Mozambique, at least in any large amount. The Africans there, though perhaps not so far advanced in opportunity as in Angola, appear happy, friendly and well fed. No one can yet assess the influences across the border from Tanganyika, but the force of African nationalism is not now evident.

Neither Angola nor Mozambique, however, can be wholly insulated from outside influences. Portugal found this out with a rude shock last February and March when a terrorist uprising broke out in Angola.

There had been disturbances among the African population of Luanda in February, apparently timed to coincide with the visit of foreign journalists. These seemed well organized and concentrated upon specific objectives such as the police barracks. In the ensuing melee, some 20 Africans were beaten to death.

This particular uprising has been laid by the Portuguese to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under Mario de Andrade, an expatriate Angolan with Communist connections who then had his headquarters in Conakry, Guinea.

In turn, that uprising apparently forced the hand of the rival Union of the People of Angola (UPA), headed by Holden Roberto, who had been working among the large Angolan community across the border in the Congo. The UPA originally had focused upon discontent among the African Angolans, particularly the past requirement that farmers grow cotton and sell it to the Government at low prices.

Anyhow, on the night of March 15 the terrorists struck in northwest Angola, apparently in an effort to command the attention of the United Nations Security Council, which had been hearing complaints about repression in Angola. Between 1,000 and 1,500 Europeans and Africans were massacred during the next few days, usually with field knives, and others were grotesquely maimed.

The precise motives for the outbreak were obscure. There can be little doubt, however, that the terrorists appealed to feelings of unity in the Bakongo tribe, which exists in the Congo as well as in Angola, and made use of a combination of superstition, intimidation and religious fetishism to turn once placid Africans into fiends.

The Portuguese response, once the first shock had worn off, was one of wholesale reprisal in kind. Settlers who had seen their families butchered did not ask questions and tended to wreak vengeance on every African they encountered. In the indiscriminate slaughter, perhaps 10,000 Africans were killed.

It is this aspect which critics of Portugal have seized upon in the U.N. What disgruntles the Portuguese is the fact that very little attention was given to the original terrorism, which far exceeded anything experienced during the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya.

Anyhow, the Portuguese armed forces, which had been at minimal strength in Angola, were quickly built up to some 30,000. As the army moved in, the terrorism was controlled, and in October the Government announced that the military phase of operations had been completed.

This was perhaps a slight exaggeration. Guerrilla raids continue in some areas, although the main lines of communication are open. Communities remain under the equivalent of martial law. But in the main, pacification has been carried out. Africans who fled from their homes have been returning and more or less normal life has been restored.

In the process, the Government tended to become suspicious of Africans whose total loyalty was not proved, and this often meant Africans with education. Here other abuses arose. Suspicion fell especially upon native Protestant pastors, many of whom were abruptly arrested and jailed, and upon white missionaries.

Some Government officials have looked upon Protestant missionaries as inherently revolutionary, and a few missionaries were expelled from the country. In several instances native pastors were imprisoned on no more evidence than that their names had been found on lists of potential nationalist contacts, and in at least one case an arrested student died after beatings.

A LESSON LEARNED

But if the Government acted cruelly in this aspect, in other ways it learned the lesson. High officials concede that the net result of the terrorist attacks was to cause new thinking and to speed up programs to improve conditions for the Africans.

In September, new laws were promulgated in Lisbon emphasizing citizenship and political status for the African population. In Angola proper, a major effort has been undertaken to build new villages for the Africans with schools and dispensaries.

Meanwhile, in Angola and Mozambique as well, there is a social paradox. Segregation does not exist by law, but Luanda and Lourenco Marques are essentially white cities with heavy African majorities. New white immigrants from Portugal have the effect of limiting the economic opportunities open to Africans.

It is impossible to find an African taxi driver in Luanda (although there are African bus drivers across the continent in Beira), and it would be extraordinary for an African to be able to afford any hotel room in Lourenco Marques. The number of Africans proceeding to Lisbon for a university education (there are no universities yet in either Angola or Mozambique) is minuscule.

The literacy rate among Africans in both countries is still pitifully small. Yet the literacy rate in Portugal itself is only about 60 percent.

ANOTHER PARADOX

And this leads to another paradox. In Mozambique, an African laborer is said to earn more than a European laborer in Portugal because of the difference in the standard of living.

It is not at all unusual in Angola to find local mayors or government officials who are pure-blooded Africans, and doctors and administrators from Goa or the Cape Verde Islands are common. In the shops of the Benguela railway at Nova Lisboa, Africans perform the jobs calling for the highest skill.

The fact that some trained Africans earn more than white immigrants from Portugal in turn causes some minor frictions. But government officials contend that these frictions will be reduced or eliminated with time and assimilation.

This is the bundle of contradictions, tensions, dangers, and opportunities that Portugal faces in Africa. The multiracial policy has worked imperfectly; there have

been abuses and delays, and there is an almost neurotic response to the opinion of others.

But changes are definitely in process and the Portuguese, who have been better mixers than most of the other European colonizers, appear to be awaking to a momentous challenge—if there is time to meet it.

The brighter young administrators are acutely conscious that it is a race for time—and that world criticism is likely to continue until there are real political rights for all Portuguese. The goad for success is the recognition that either of the usually mentioned alternative courses—a poorly prepared African independence or perpetuated domination by a small, white minority—could lead to catastrophe.

Preface to a Political Theory of Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 13, 1962

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished American political scientists is Dr. Hans J. Morgenthau. An author of note and a well-known educator, Dr. Morgenthau has taught political science to thousands of American students.

He is at present professor of political science at the University of Chicago and has written an essay entitled "Preface to a Political Theory of Foreign Aid," one of the most brilliant discussions of foreign aid, published recently by the public affairs conference center of the University of Chicago. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues and urge them to consider Dr. Morgenthau's thesis:

PREFACE TO A POLITICAL THEORY OF FOREIGN AID

(By Hans J. Morgenthau)

Of the seeming and real innovations which the modern age has introduced into the practice of foreign policy, none has proven more baffling to both understanding and action than foreign aid. The very assumption that foreign aid is an instrument of foreign policy is a subject of controversy. For, on the one hand, the opinion is widely held that foreign aid is an end in itself, carrying within itself a justification both transcending, and independent of, foreign policy. In this view, foreign aid is the fulfillment of an obligation which the few rich nations have toward the many poor ones. On the other hand, many see no justification for a policy of foreign aid at all. They look at foreign aid as a gigantic boondoggle, a wasteful and indefensible operation which serves neither the interests of the United States nor those of the recipient nations.

The public debate on foreign aid has contributed little to understanding. In the spring of every year, the Nation engages in such a debate, carried on almost exclusively in terms of the amount of money to be spent for purposes of foreign aid rather than of the substantive purposes which a policy of foreign aid is supposed to serve. The administration tries, as it were, to sell a certain amount of foreign aid to Congress, and Congress refuses to buy that amount. Congress generally appropriates about 10 percent less than what the administration has